

The **ARCHAEOLOGY**

of the Central Freeway Replacement Project

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and

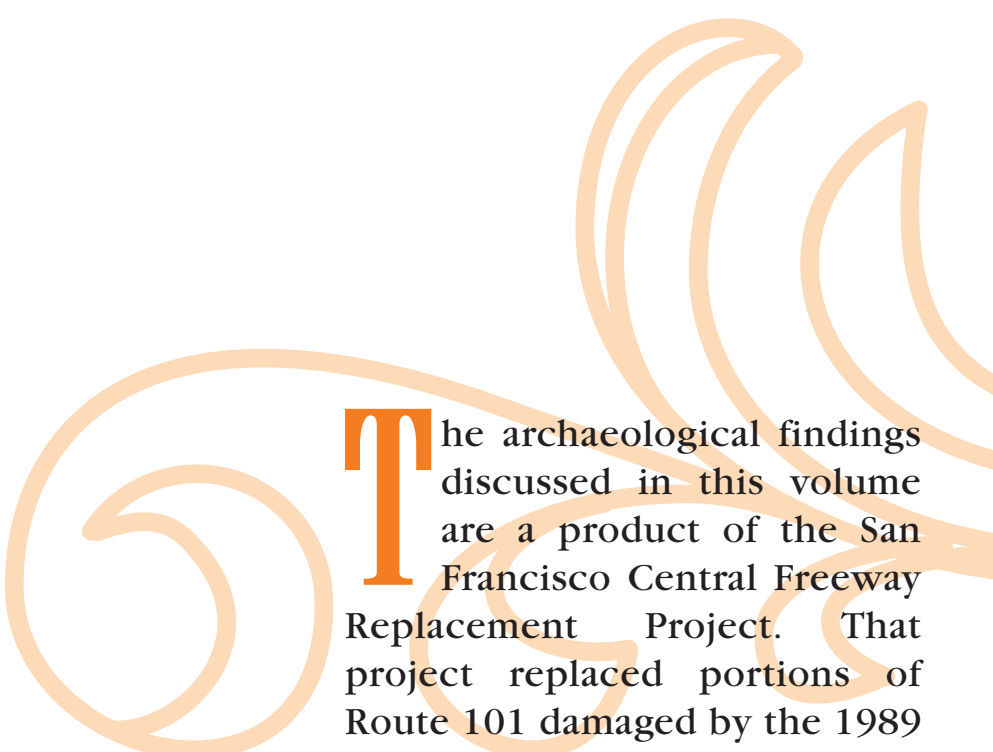
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A large, decorative orange swirl graphic that starts from the bottom left and curves upwards and to the right, ending near the top right of the page. It has a thick, hand-drawn appearance.

The archaeological findings discussed in this volume are a product of the San Francisco Central Freeway Replacement Project. That project replaced portions of Route 101 damaged by the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake. A new freeway was installed in place of the damaged one and includes a viaduct South of Market Street and a new thoroughfare, Octavia Boulevard, North of Market Street. In compliance with federal and state laws, the project addresses impacts to prehistoric and historic archaeological sites. This volume is an effort to share the results of that archaeological work with the public.



This map depicts the project area for the Central Freeway Replacement Project. Each red “x” indicates where an archaeological site was encountered.

Beginning the Project: What is Archaeology?

Archaeology is the scientific study of peoples in the past and the way that people lived (culture) based on the things that they left behind. Culture is the shared ways of life learned by a group of people, including their language, religion, technology, and values. Archaeologists study the past by examining artifacts, objects made, used, or changed by humans. Artifacts are typically found buried in the ground. Over time, soils can build up and cover things left in the ground. Things can also become buried if they are covered up by buildings, landscaping, or freeways. The arrangement of soil layers in the ground, and the things that are found in each layer, tells archaeologists the ways that people changed over time. Any place where human activity occurred and where artifacts are found is called an archaeological site. There are two types of archaeological sites, prehistoric and historic. Prehistoric sites are those that occurred before the group being studied began writing records of daily life. Historic sites are those created by societies with written records. Some examples of “written records” include inventories, diaries, maps and photographs.

Archaeologists have to do research before they can do any digging. They need to know as much as they can about the culture they are studying before they excavate. Excavating involves digging into the ground to recover as much information as possible. Archaeologists excavate a site because they believe that their investigations can provide answers to important research questions. Archaeologists develop a research design for a project. This is a set of questions that he or she thinks may be answered by the kinds of artifacts and other types of information that are likely to be present at the archaeological site they are investigating.

The archaeologists for the Central Freeway Replacement Project already knew a lot about the kinds of materials they could expect to find from historical documents and maps, as well as previous archaeological excavations in San Francisco. This helped them to think about the questions that might be answered. The research design they developed for



Excavations in progress at CA-SFR-148 in 2003.



Excavation in Progress at the North of Market Street Excavation Area, Feature 10.

the project included questions that the archaeologists thought would be important to understanding the prehistory and history of San Francisco.

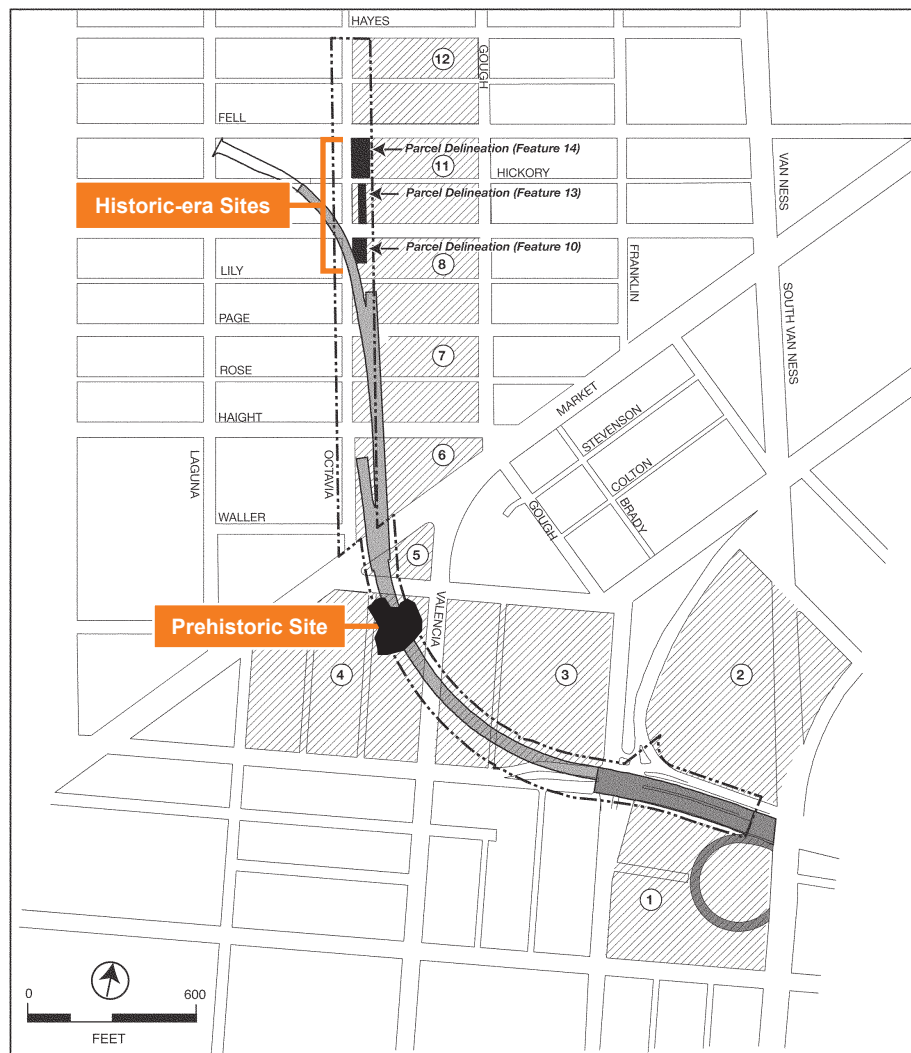
Once the research design was in place, the archaeologists developed what is known as a “predictive model” in order for them to decide where they were most likely to encounter archaeological deposits. Given the potential to encounter many different types of archaeological deposits in the project area, considerable amounts of planning went into the effort to decide where to dig, how much to dig, and what to look for. Historical documents, including early historical maps were used to determine which portions of the project area had a high potential for intact archaeological resources. The archaeologists carefully dug by hand and used a large piece of mechanical equipment called a “backhoe” to peel back the layers of soil. All of the soil was passed through fine-meshed screens so that artifacts could be collected. During the project over 1,500 artifacts were recovered. Each artifact was described, cataloged, and labeled so the archaeologists would know exactly where it came from, how it had been collected, and what it was.

After the excavation, the archaeologists studied the artifacts they recovered for many months. The artifacts were photographed, measured, and carefully described by specialists who looked for evidence of how they may have been manufactured and used. Archaeologists can look at different styles of artifacts and tell when they were made. Just like styles of clothes and cars, the characteristics of artifacts, the way they are made and decorated, change through time. Archaeologists know that artifacts with a certain type of decoration were made only during a certain time period. An artifact that gives clues to the function or date of a site is called a diagnostic artifact.

The archaeologists did not keep what they found. When analysis was complete and the archaeologists had tried to answer the research questions, they took the archaeological collection to be stored in a specialized museum facility. This is a way of making sure that the collection and information will be available for other researchers to study in the future.

What We Did and What We Found: The Legal Context

The use of federal funds and permits for the Central Freeway Replacement Project triggered the implementation of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. This law requires that the responsible federal agency, “take into account” the effects of its undertaking on archaeological sites that are or may be eligible to the National Register of Historic Places. The area of potential effects was set by the lead federal agency in this case the Federal Highway Administration, and an archaeological sensitivity study was conducted to identify areas within the APE that were likely to contain prehistoric and/or historic-period resources. An area of archaeological interest was delineated in the vicinity of Blocks 1-8, 11, 12. This area was revised from the original, dropping two blocks (Blocks 9 and 10) and adding two blocks (Blocks 11 and 12), which resulted in a gap in the block numbering. The project area is bounded by Hayes Street to the north and Fourteenth



Area of Direct Impact

Street to the south. The project blocks are part of two distinct neighborhoods: the Inner Mission on the south side of Market Street (Blocks 1-5) and the Hayes Valley Tract on the north side (Blocks 6-8, 11 and 12). These two neighborhoods are historically distinct from one another.

The archaeologists undertook a modified approach to Section 106

compliance because of the extreme time constraints of the construction schedule. The standard process treats potentially important sites in distinct stages: identification, evaluation, and data recovery. For the Central Freeway Replacement Project, these phases were collapsed into a single operation by applying the detailed research design and treatment plan during a combined

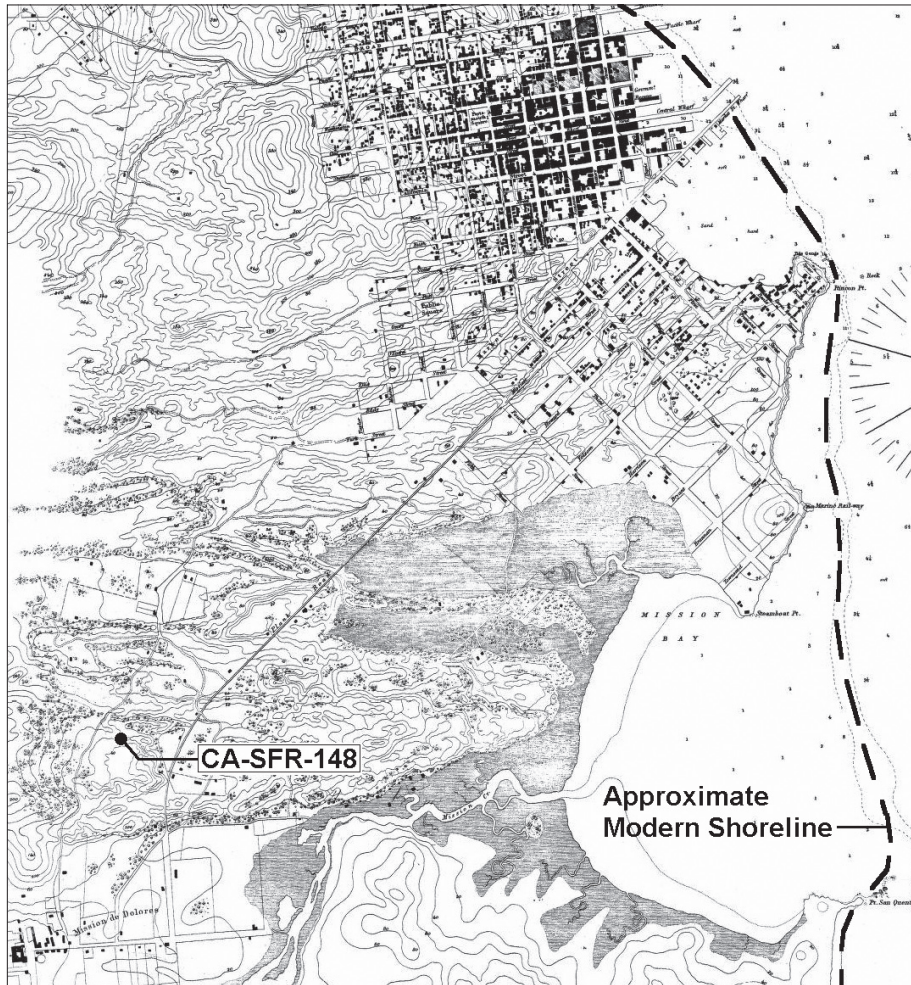
identification/evaluation stage. Archaeologists evaluated the National Register of Historic Places eligibility potential of archaeological features as they were uncovered. Features that did not meet the criteria presented in the research design were abandoned as National Register of Historic Places-ineligible. Conversely, each deposit that exhibited the specified characteristics was treated as potentially eligible and excavated.

In total, one prehistoric site located on the south of Market side of the project and three historic-era sites dating somewhere between the 1870s to 1890s were determined eligible and excavated. The results of this work were summarized in a technical report for the prehistoric site and in a separate technical and interpretative report for the three historic-era sites. In total 10 city blocks were tested. Research questions regarding who lived in San Francisco in the past and what kind of activities they conducted were answered from a combination of the archaeological materials recovered during excavations and historical documents. The following sections present in more detail what was discovered.

The First Residents of the South of Market Street Area

Native Americans lived for many thousands of years in the area that later became the City of San Francisco. Yet their stories are poorly known because most of the places they lived are hidden under buildings, pavement, and deep layers of sand and soil. Some early prehistoric sites were concealed when the climate changed at the end of the last ice age about 11,000 years ago. Melting glaciers raised the ocean about 400 feet, submerging the valley between San Francisco and Oakland. That dramatic change also created dunes along the shores the newly formed bay, covering areas like the Hayes Valley in deep sand. At the same time, the edges of the bay were buried in sediments brought by inland rivers. When the City sprang into existence as a result of the Gold Rush, shallow areas like Mission Bay were filled and built over.

With so many sites hidden by development and natural processes, the first task archaeologists



1853 Coast Survey showing historic shore line.

face is predicting where prehistoric resources will be found. That is done by analyzing previous discoveries to find out why those locations were attractive places to live. Before the McCoppin Street prehistoric site (CA-SFR-148) was found during this study, only five sites were previously known in the general vicinity. One was the burial of a Native American woman discovered 75 feet (22.9 meters) below the modern ground surface at the Civic Center Bart Station. She died about 5,700 years ago

when the San Francisco Bay had risen to its modern level. Four prehistoric shell mounds were also known along the former shore of Mission Bay. They were found under 6 to 20 feet of fill (1.8-6.3 meters) and were occupied during the past 2,000 years. Materials found at those sites indicate the Native people hunted with spears, bows, and arrows; fished with nets weighed down by grooved stones; collected shellfish; and processed acorns and other plants in mortars (stone bowls) using pestles.

They also buried their dead with artifacts such as shell beads that imply their society was complex and differences in status were recognized.

To test their prediction that a buried prehistoric site would be found in the project area, archaeologists excavated many trenches. As expected, a new prehistoric site was discovered just south of Market Street at the corner of Elgin Park and McCoppin streets. It was located on top of a sand dune, buried under 6 feet (1.8 meters) of historic fill. That McCoppin site was easily noticed because of its midden, a word that is used to describe deposits of soil containing discarded cultural materials such as shells, bone, charcoal, tools, and other residues.

The McCoppin prehistoric site offered a chance to learn more about people who lived in the area before historic settlement began. Archaeologists particularly wanted to know when the site was



Excavated areas at prehistoric site CA-SFR-148.

occupied and what kinds of activities were carried out there. That in turn could be used to understand how Native people adapted to their changing natural and social environment. To answer those questions Archaeologists carefully excavated 12 pits by hand to gather a sample of the materials in the site deposit. That digging was done one layer at a time to allow study of how use of the site may have changed over time. Soil was sifted through screens to recover all cultural items. Those collected materials were labeled and the discoveries were carefully recorded with notes, drawings, and photographs. The collection was then brought to a laboratory for cataloging and analysis.

Radiocarbon dating and obsidian hydration dating were used to learn when the McCoppin site was occupied. Radiocarbon dating measures the ratio of stable and radioactive carbon atoms in organic materials such as bone, shell, and wood. All living things exchange both kinds of carbon with the environment while alive. After death that exchange stops and the radioactive carbon slowly decays, turning back into stable carbon. Older organic materials thus have less radioactive carbon than more recent ones, allowing precise dating of when death took place. Four samples of wood charcoal, shell, and bone were analyzed in this way. The McCoppin site was occupied for a very brief period between 370 BC and AD 60.

Cat #	Unit/Material	Calibrated Age
550	Trench 2 (shell)	350 BC-AD 60
552	Unit 6 (charcoal)	190 BC-AD 10
133	Unit 7 (bone)	370-100 BC
421	Unit 11 (bone)	230-50 BC

Radiocarbon Dating Results

The other method used to check the period of site use was obsidian hydration dating. Obsidian is a volcanic glass that was prized for flaked stone tools like arrow and spear points, knives, and scrapers. Water gradually penetrates below the surface of obsidian artifacts in the same way old bottles get a dull and flaky appearance. That process is called hydration and the depth of the water penetration can be seen with a microscope. Hydration is measured by cutting a small slice into the artifact and looking at the cross section. The hydration of 9 obsidian artifacts from the McCoppin site ranged between 3.2 and 3.9 microns (one micron is a thousandth of a millimeter). Those calibrated measurements imply tool production took place sometime between 504 BC and AD 38. The two dating methods thus confirm the same general period of site use, roughly 500 BC until AD 50.

Materials collected from the McCoppin site also reveal what native people were doing there. The site contained shells, animal bones, chipped stone tools, and discarded flakes and chunks of stone from crafting stone tools. Most materials from the site are the residues of meals, with only a few tools and some tool making debris present. The most abundant material is shell, which included both whole and fragmentary pieces. However weight, not

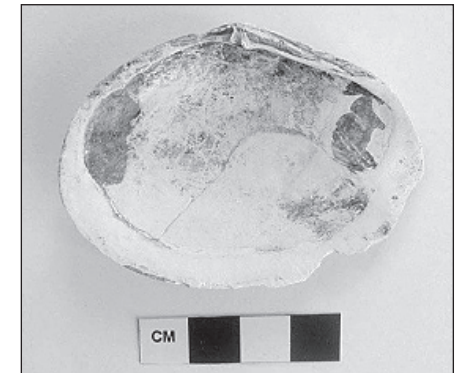
counts, is the most valid way to judge the relative importance of each type of shellfish eaten by the site residents. Bent nose clams (*Macoma nasuta*) dominated their diet, comprising 94% of all shell by weight. The remainder of the shell is mussel (*Mytilus* sp.), oyster (*Ostrea* sp.), barnacle (*Balanus* sp.), and a few other minor species. Bent nose clams prefer mudflats and thrive when low freshwater runoff results in saltier bay waters. Another nearby site (CA-SFR-112) occupied 500 years later than the McCoppin site also had a high proportion of bent nosed clams. They probably came from Mission Bay.

Item	Count
Shell	11,493
Bone	660
Debitage (stone flakes)	74
Cores (worked stone chunks)	11
Fire-altered rock	5
Flake tools	4
Bifaces (projectile points)	2

Materials Collected at CA-SFR-148

The bones of animals were recovered in small numbers at the McCoppin site. Careful analysis revealed some of the animals that were hunted. Out of 436 identified whole and fragmentary bones, deer made up nearly half (47%), followed by smaller amounts of birds (14%), fish (14%), small mammals (4%), dog (2%), and one sea mammal bone. The collection also included some evidence of rodents that were probably not eaten, but instead simply lived in the sand dunes around the site. The types of animals eaten at the McCoppin site are different than most other Bay Area sites occupied

about 2000 years ago. Other Native people relied heavily on marine mammals like sea otters and relied on shellfish other than bent nosed clams. Future studies may help understand whether this is a significant cultural distinction, or simply came from differences in where the people looked for food.



A bent nose clam (Cat #074)

Flaked stone tools and manufacturing debris are the only artifacts found at the site. Stone tools were made mainly of locally available chert (cryptocrystalline silicate) with some minor use of obsidian from more distant sources. Chert makes up 91% of all stone artifacts with larger chunks (cores) and waste flakes suggesting work at the site included the early stages of tool manufacture. Chert occurs nearby and was probably quarried and stored at the McCoppin site so it could be used when needed. In contrast, only seven obsidian flakes reflect the latest stages of tool making and repair. That suggests obsidian was obtained through trade as partly formed pieces. The only finished tools recovered from the site are fragments of two obsidian spear points. Both are types that were popular for long periods of time. They

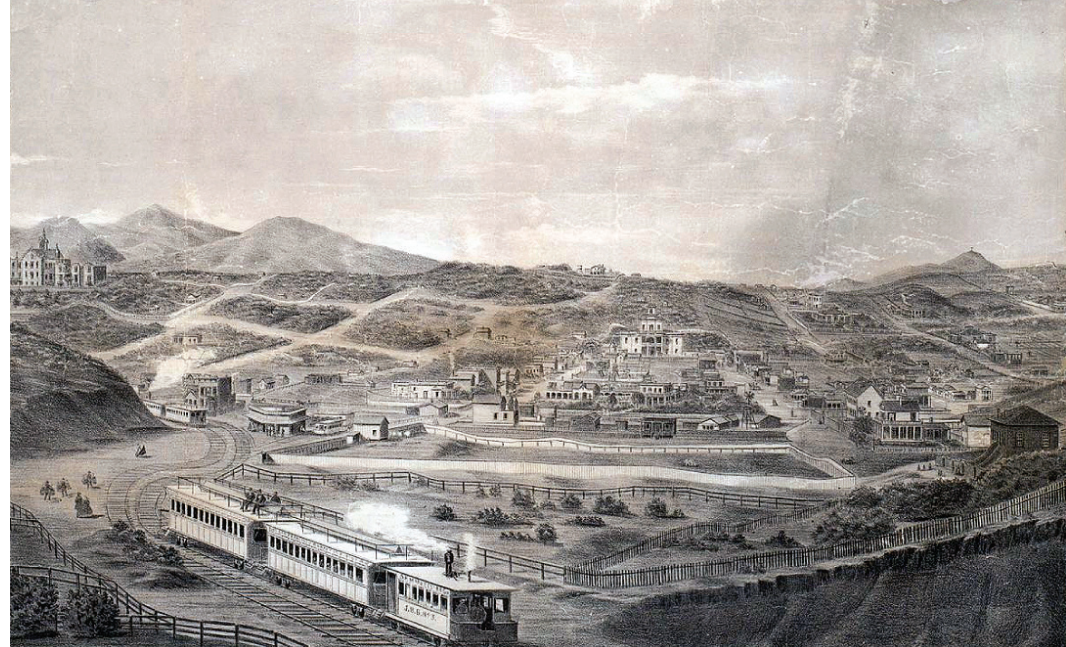


Obsidian Projectile Points

were likely used on larger game animals and broken during use.

The nine obsidian artifacts from the site were analyzed to find out where they came from. Sourcing can be determined by measuring the ratios of certain elements using x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy. Every obsidian deposit in the western United States has a distinct chemical signature with known amounts of rare elements. All of the obsidian specimens from the McCoppin site came from Napa Valley, suggesting trade or direct visitation across the Bay to the north.

The shallow deposits at the McCoppin site and absence of house floors, hearths, and burials all suggest it was a temporary camp used for about 500 years and then abandoned. Native American visitors to the site gathered clams, relied mainly on land animals for meat, and also did some limited fishing and hunting along the edge of San Francisco Bay. This roving land use differed from many other bay shore sites occupied during the same period. Populations rose dramatically around that time, with many permanent villages occupied by 2,500 years ago. Native people became less mobile because they were crowded by neighbors. That led to heavier use of the areas around their villages, depleting many food sources. Investigations at the McCoppin site thus reflect a roving way of life that soon vanished. Future studies of other local prehistoric sites will help refine understandings of that important period of change.



Drawing of Hayes Valley with Market Street Railway in foreground. Hayes Valley (San Francisco, California)
BANC PIC 1963.002.0211---C. Bancroft Library, California
Heritage Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

The Hayes Valley Neighborhood of the Western Addition: Development of an Emerging Middle Class Victorian Suburb (1870-1890)

“O’Farrell Street represented a high peak in Father’s life, the accumulation of savings sufficient for the building of a home for his wife, Yetta, his eldest daughter Addie, Polly, and me, in a new residential district of San Francisco. In like manner his business associates had saved and invested in their capital, in a short time forgetting their old homes on the other side of Market Street. As South of Market lost in fashionable repute, their children denied them altogether. O’Farrell Street was a dream come true, a dream which, if it never reached the grandeur of Van Ness Avenue with mansions of the wealthy retired behind deep lawn and gilded iron fence, yet embodied a vision held and realized... All buildings of the neighborhood gave out a fine air of

permanence. Father approved of the block not only for its location, but also for the honesty of its construction to which he had been witness. It was a solid street, held together by thirty-penny strikes, resisted the iron shoes of the heavy dray horses. Houses, sidewalks, street, were of the best wood provided by the most reliable contractors, guaranteed perfect” (Levy 1975:2-3).

Harriet Lane Levy was a writer who grew up in the Western Addition neighborhood of San Francisco during the nineteenth century and documented her memories in a book. She wrote the above passage. Levy describes a neighborhood that was a transitional point between the working class neighborhood South of Market, yet not as grand as that of the homes located along Van Ness Avenue. The development of Hayes Valley, a subsection of the Western Addition, was part of a trend both in San Francisco and other late 19th century American cities, toward middle class desertion of increasingly crowded city centers for the relative peace and quiet of outlying parts of the city. Hayes Valley was part of the larger neighborhood of the Western Addition, an area of San Francisco that was opened for residential development in 1855. It extended from Larkin Street to Divisadero, north of Market Street.

During the Gold Rush of the 1850s, San Francisco’s city center was a district near the San Francisco Bay waterfront, where shipping and commerce thrived in close proximity to residential neighborhoods. By the 1860s, rapid population growth and the emergence of what one historian called an “instant city,” led to residential congestion. At the same time, an increase in commerce and manufacturing drove up rents and land prices.

The growing demand for middle class housing led Colonel Thomas Hayes to develop his 160-acre farm tract as a garden suburb of San Francisco. New transportation developments, including the Market Street railway line in 1860, gave residents the opportunity to commute to their jobs downtown. The separation of home and work was a hallmark of the American urban middle class of the 19th



View of San Francisco circa 1880: Northeast from Mark Hopkins home toward Telegraph Hill. First Methodist Church (spire), upper left. 1880.: 196. Bancroft Library, California Heritage Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

century, and it had profound implications for family life, requiring a strict division of labor between men and women. While men left home for work, and older children left home for school, middle class women were, according to a new ideology of family life, to remain at home during the day and take care of the house and pre-school age children.

In their classification of San Francisco neighborhoods from the mid 1870s through World War I, historians William Issel and Robert Cherny describe the Western Addition as a middle class neighborhood of single-family houses. The families were large, and typically lived in two and three story rowhouses, with backyards, but little or no yard in front. Merchants were the largest single professional group in the neighborhood and many owned their own homes. Other Western Addition workers were employed by merchants as clerks, salesmen, and bookkeepers. The main foreign-born groups in the neighborhood were German and Irish.

Residence in the Western Addition was a clear expression of middle class aspirations. As Harriet Lane

Levy recalls in the quote above, there was a pride involved with many who moved from a working class neighborhood in the South of Market area to the Western Addition and it fulfilled some of their hopes for a prosperous life in California. The artifacts recovered from the historic-era sites analyzed here demonstrate the desire, capability, and sometimes incapability of the neighborhood's residents to live a "middle class" lifestyle.

Tales from the Privy Pit

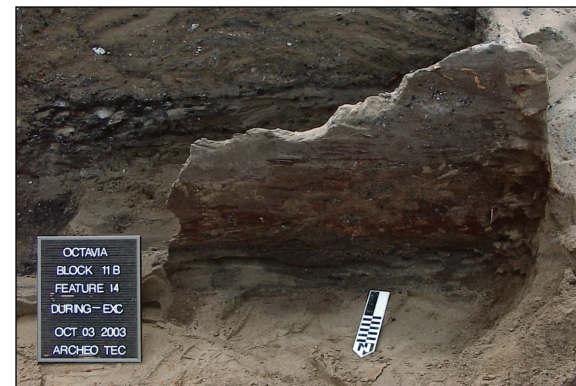
The artifacts that were recovered from the three historic-era site located on the north end of Market Street were originally deposited as household trash in three backyard outhouses, also known as "privies." The artifacts were discarded by five different families who lived in the neighborhood in the 1870s through the 1890s. Indoor flushable toilets and sewer connections were a luxury in San Francisco until the 1890s. Before then, the vast majority of city residents used outhouses, which were built over pits dug into the ground. The pits became receptacles not only for human waste, but also for all kinds of discarded, (or inadvertently dropped) objects, such as plates, bottles, coins, jewelry, shoes, and toys.

Privy structures were typically constructed of wood, and had one to three seats, screened vents for proper ventilation, and a lid on the seat to reduce flies and other pests. Because space was at a premium in San Francisco, the privy pit was typically a semi-permanent structure that was often lined with wood, brick, or stone to reduce leaks, seepage, and ground contamination. The pit was cleaned out periodically. When a house was connected to city sewer lines the privy was replaced by an indoor flushable toilet. Abandoned privies were usually disassembled, and the pits were used for trash disposal. For archaeologists, the household trash abandoned 130 years ago and preserved in buried pits, can be considered a kind of time capsule, offering a rare insight into daily life in the 19th century.

The five families associated with the privy features were not famous or scandalous, didn't make vast fortunes or headlines in local newspapers, and didn't leave their family papers to local libraries. We

know them through the artifacts the archaeologists found through their brief appearances in public records. The archaeologists have tried to make the most of every scrap of evidence. Both the privy artifacts and historical records tell a story of frugality and hard work carried out by what may be termed an emerging, or transitional, largely foreign-born middle class. During the years of 1870 through 1890, these families were seeking an economic foothold in San Francisco. By typical economic measures, such as occupation, personal estate, and home ownership, the families were not all that different from some of the grocers or carpenters in working class neighborhoods like the San Francisco Inner Mission district. Four of the five families likely associated with the privy pits were foreign-born heads of household, three German and one Irish. Only one of the five families was headed by a native-born American, although Americans were the majority population in San Francisco by 1880.

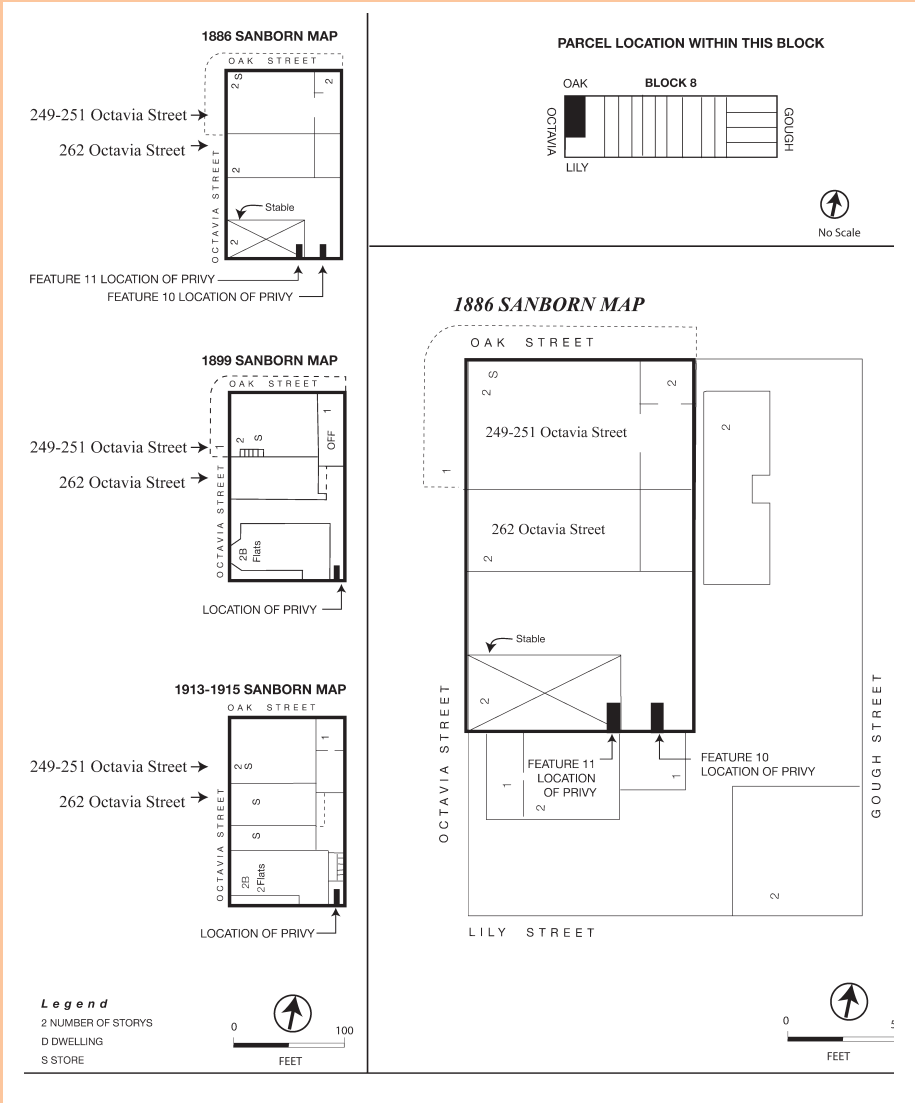
The survival and discovery of the three privy pits presents a rare opportunity to study a group of people who have not received a great deal attention from San Francisco archaeologists—the foreign-born, striving middle class of the late 19th century.



Example of Privy Pit Excavation from the Central Freeway Replacement Project, Feature 14

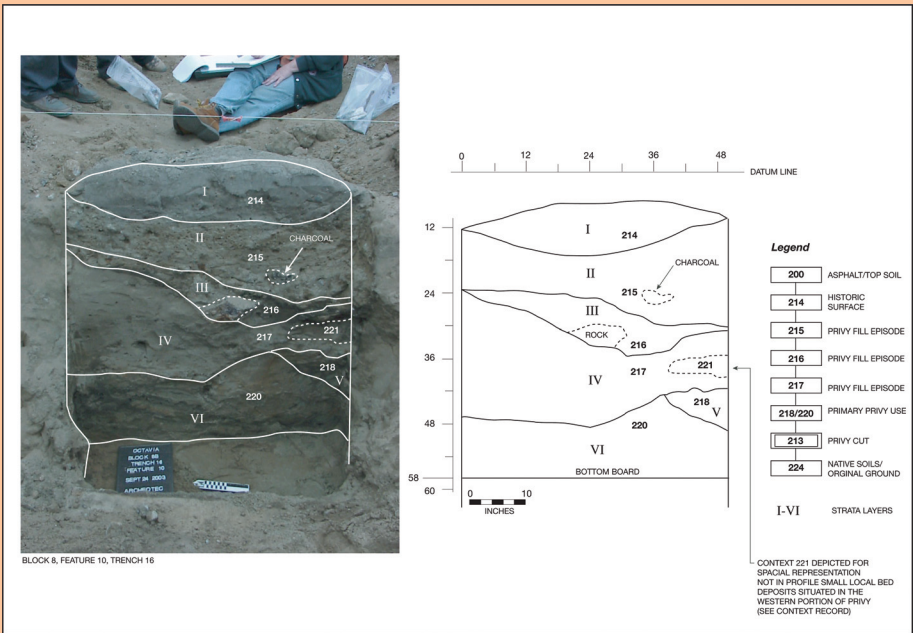
The Bruman Family—262 Octavia Street

A privy pit was discovered in association with the residence located at 262 Octavia Street. Historical records indicated that Aaron and Amelia Bruman, a German-born, Jewish couple lived at the residence with their four children from 1870 through 1888. Aaron Bruman was a clerk at a dry goods store and his wife Amelia stayed at home to take care of their children. Aaron Bruman also owned the building next door to the residence at 262 Octavia Street. This building contained the grocery he owned and operated. In the early 1880s, the Bruman household also included a boarder named Henry Wappner, a single 65-year-old German immigrant who worked in the Mission Woolen Mills.



Bruman Family Summary

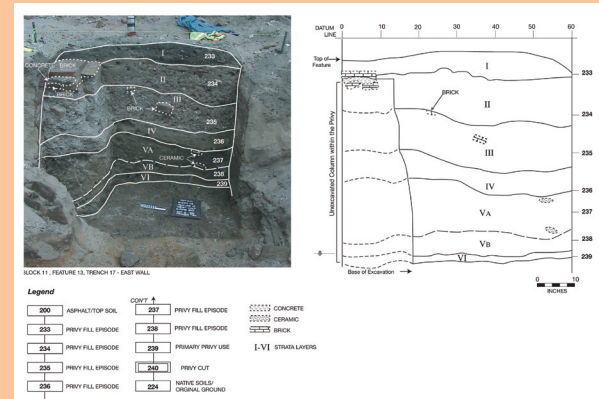
Birthplace:	Hesse Cassel, Germany (Prussia)
Ethnicity or Race:	German
Religion:	Jewish
Occupation:	Aaron Bruman = Merchant/Grocer Amelia Bruman = At home
Period of Residence:	1870-1880
Estimated Date of Deposition:	ca. 1880s
Artifacts	
(Does note include Faunal, Floral, Structural, or Undefined categories)	
Artifact Count:	310
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI):	180
Artifact Profile (percentage of MNI):	
Activities:	6.1%
Domestic:	29.4%
Indefinite:	26.7%
Personal	37.8%
Total:	100%
Faunal Remains	
Meat Weight represented by Faunal Remains: Beef:	
124.0 lbs. Mutton: 63.87 lbs. Pork 5.02 lbs.	
Meat Weight Price Range (major meat mammals):	
High: 30% Moderate 54% Low: 16%	



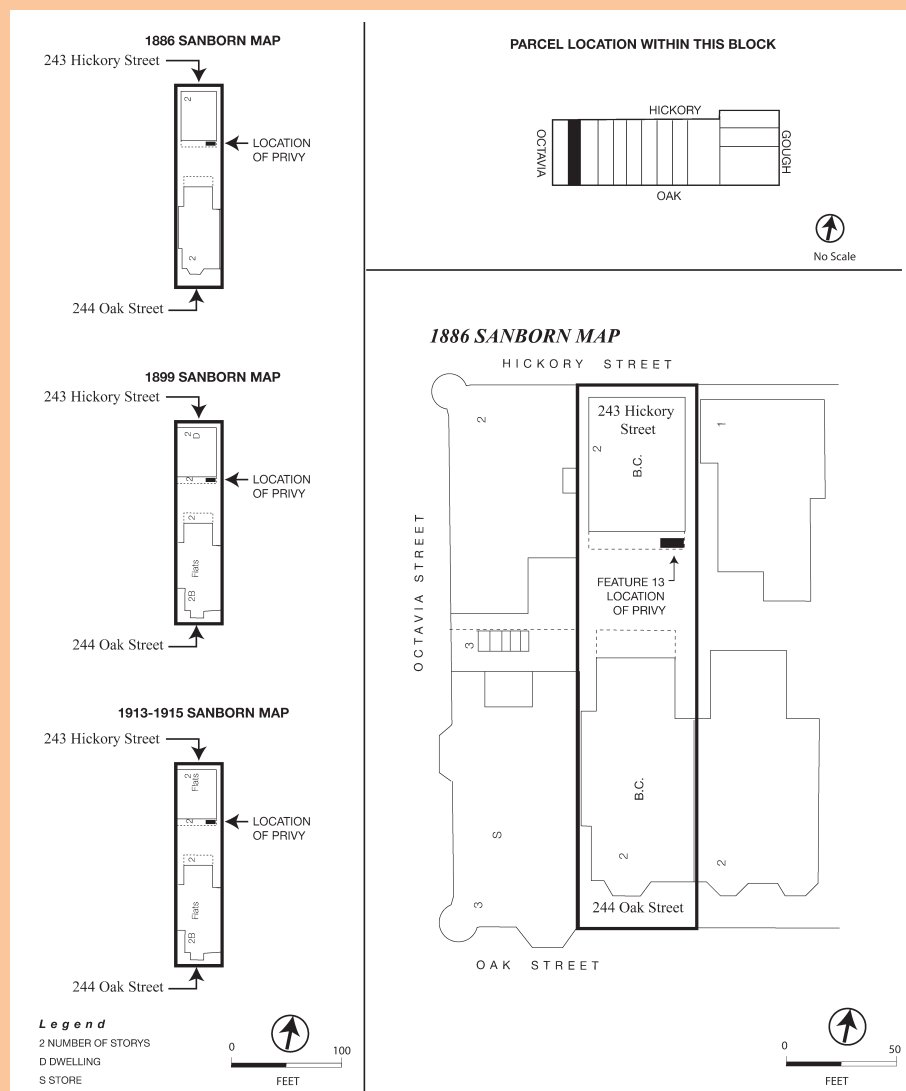
The Driscoll Family—244 Oak Street/243 Hickory Street

A privy pit was discovered in the shared backyard of the residences located at 244 Oak Street and 243 Hickory Street. A two-story, single-family house (244 Oak Street) and a small two-story carriage house (243 Hickory Street) were located on the lot. A carriage house is a small building, typically located at the back of the home and used for housing carriages or other vehicles, much like a garage is used to park a car today. The Driscoll family lived at 244 Oak Street from 1868/69 through 1904. Catherine Driscoll, a widowed woman who worked at home served as the head of the household until her death in 1884 at age 75. Catherine's daughter, Hannah Driscoll (Schram) lived at the residence with her mother for most of her adult

life; leaving for a brief period of time (1874-1881) while married to her husband, Frederick Schram, who later died. After her mother's death, Catherine served as the head of household until her death in 1904 at age 64. After the death of her mother it appears that Hannah moved out of and renovated the residence at 244 Oak Street. She may have rented out this residence to supplement her income. From 1886 until her death, Hannah is listed as living in the carriage house (243 Hickory Street) which she may have renovated into a residence more suitable for living. Hannah worked on and off throughout her life as a tailoress, seamstress, and dressmaker. She married a man who was part of the tailor's professional union. When she died, her sister, Ellen Madden, took over the ownership of both homes. Another member of the Driscoll family, Jeremiah Driscoll, also lived at the residence. It is unclear if Jeremiah was a son or brother to Catherine. His occupation was a ship joiner meaning he was a carpenter for ships.



Feature 13 Matrix and Section



Feature 13 Location of Privy

Driscoll Family Summary

Ethnicity or Race:	Irish
Religion:	Catholic
Occupation:	Catherine Driscoll = Keeping House Hannah Driscoll (Schram) = Tailoress/ Seamstress/ Dressmaker Jeremiah Driscoll = Ship Carpenter/Ship Joiner
Period of Residence:	244 Oak Street: 1868/69-1885 243 Hickory Street: 1886-1904
Estimate Date of Deposition:	ca. 1875-1885
Artifacts (Does not include Faunal, Floral, Structural, or Undefined categories)	
Artifact Count:	1088
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI):	504
Artifact Profile (percentage of MNI):	
Activities:	5.9%
Domestic:	43.6%
Indefinite:	13.5%
Personal:	37.0%
Total:	100%
Faunal Remains	

Meat Weight Represented by Faunal Remains: Beef: 235 lbs. Mutton: 141.62 lbs, Pork: 0 lbs

The Holm Family Renters—331-335 Fell Street

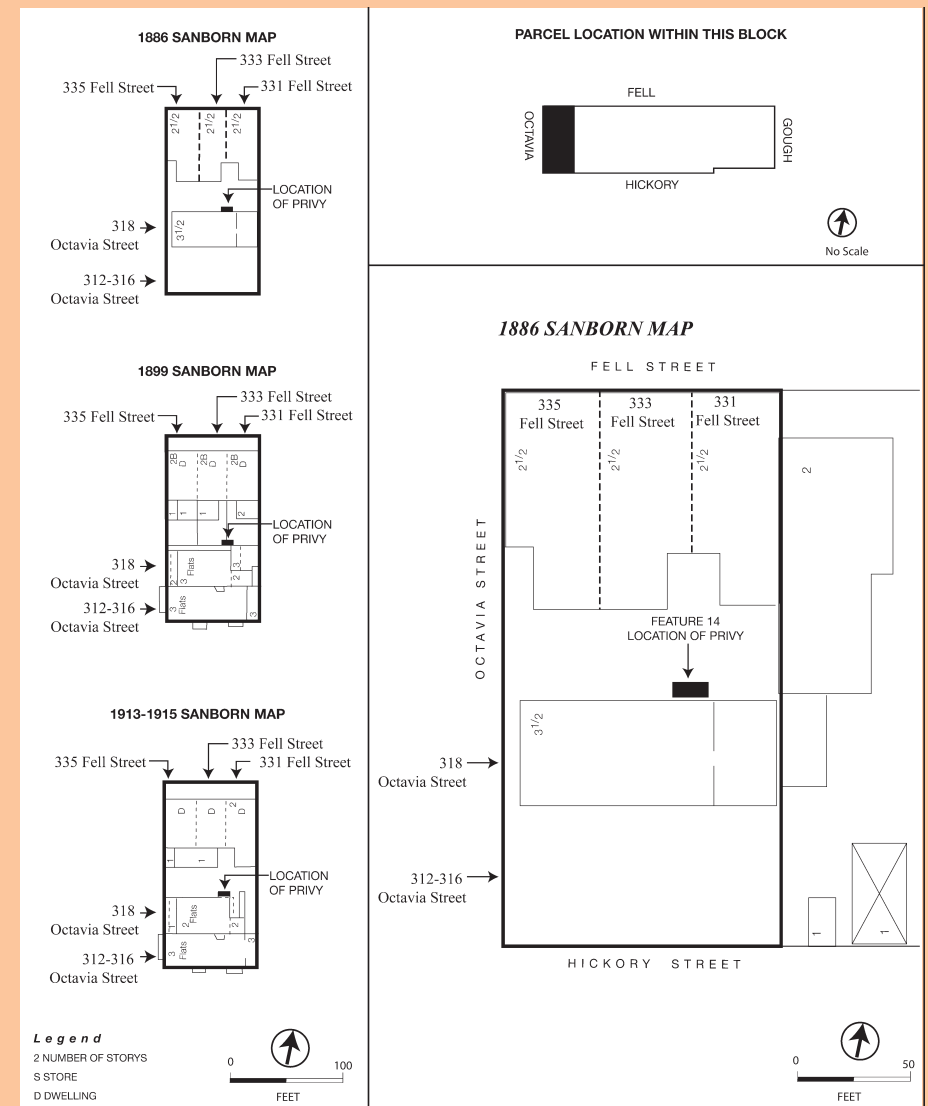
A privy pit was discovered in the shared backyard of a triplex located at 331-335 Fell Street and owned by John Henry Holm. He rented out the triplex to three different families who will be discussed in more detail below. It is unclear whether the privy pit discovered was used by one or more of the families listed below, as maps depict the backyard as a shared area and the privy pit straddling the property lines. Because of this, it is assumed that the privy was possibly shared by the following families.



331–335 Fell Street on right (from building). “East on Fell from Octavia,” April 1925. Bancroft Library, California Heritage Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

The Kirkpatrick Family—331 Fell Street

John Kirkpatrick and his family moved to 331 Fell Street in 1876. John was a native of Illinois where he had previously worked as an ice manufacturer. His wife, Maria Kirkpatrick was born in West Virginia. She stayed at home and took care of the house and their four children (Louisa, Mary, Ray and Hattie). All of the Kirkpatrick’s children were born in California except Ray, who was born in Nevada. John held several jobs while renting at 331 Fell Street, including owning a wholesale wine and liquor import business as well as serving as Chief of Police for the City of San Francisco from 1878 through 1879. In 1882, John Kirkpatrick and his family moved out of the 331 Fell Street residence.



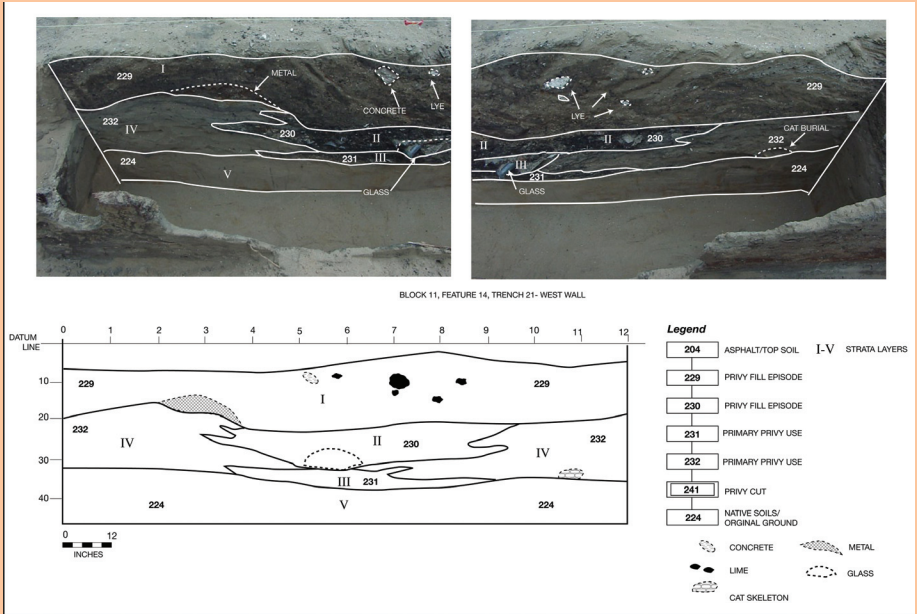
Feature 10 Location of Privy

The Newhoff Family—333 Fell Street

John Frederick Newhoff and his wife Rosa Newhoff, both natives of Germany, lived in several locations South of Market before moving to 333 Fell Street in 1880. The family lived there for approximately 12 years, leaving in 1891. John and Rosa’s sons, Frederick (age 22), Henry (age 21), and William M. (age 14) lived with them in 1880. Emanuel Wineburgh (age 27), Rosa’s son from a previous marriage, also lived with the Newhoff family. John worked for the Claus Spreckels’ California Sugar Company Refinery and later the Western Sugar Refining Company as a laborer. Rosa stayed at home. The Newhoff’s sons also held various jobs while living with them. Frederick worked as a clerk in a drug store and a bookkeeper for a dry goods firm. Henry worked as a machinist for the West Coast Furniture Company and later for Herman Granz furniture manufacturer. Henry moved out of the Newhoff residence in 1884. William worked as a stock clerk and salesman with Rosenbaum and Company. Emanuel Wineburgh was a partner in a dry and fancy goods firm called Jacobs and Wineburgh while living with the Newhoffs. He moved out of the Newhoff residence in 1882. By the time that John and Maria moved from 333 Fell Street, all of their sons had married and moved out of the home. John and Maria returned to the South of Market area after 1891.

The Gross Family—335 Fell Street

Louis Gross, a native of Bohemia in Austria and his wife Lizzie, also a native of Bohemia, moved to 335 Fell Street in 1874 and lived there until 1881. Louis worked as a bookkeeper for IXL Bitters and may have also been the owner of this company. Lizzie stayed at home. Louis and Lizzie had seven children (three sons and four daughters) and a servant while residing at 335 Fell Street. Charles Gross (age 17), the oldest son, worked as a clerk in a bookstore. Some of the younger children including, Martha (age 16), Isidore (age 11), and Felix (age 8) attended school. The youngest children, Blanch (age 5), Josephine (age 3), and Edith (age 9 months) stayed at home.



Feature 14 Matrix and Section

The Holm Family Renters

Name(s):	Kirkpatrick Family Household (331 Fell Street) Newhoff Family Household (333 Fell Street) Gross Family Household (335 Fell Street)
Birthplace:	Illinois (Kirkpatrick Family) Hanover, Germany (Newhoff Family) Bohemia, Austria (Gross Family)
Ethnicity or Race:	Irish-American (Kirkpatrick) German (Newhoff) Austrian (Gross)
Religion:	Unknown (Kirkpatrick) Jewish (Newhoff) Jewish (Gross)
Occupation:	Wine and liquor merchant/chief of police (Kirkpatrick) Laborer (Newhoff) Bookeeper/salesman and business partner (Gross)
Period of Residence:	1876-1882 (Kirkpatrick) 1880-1891 (Newhoff) 1874-1881 (Gross)
Estimate Date of Deposition:	ca. 1870s
Artifacts:	
(Does not include Faunal, Floral, Structural, or Undefined categories)	
Artifact Count:	610
Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI)	301
Artifact Profile: (percentage of MNI)	
Activities:	12.6%
Domestic:	33.9%
Indefinite:	15.6%
Personal:	37.9%
Total:	100%
Faunal Remains	
Meat Weight represented by Faunal Remains: Beef: 176.7 lbs. Mutton: 55.54 lbs. Pork: 2.73 lbs. Meat Price Range (major meat mammals): High: 36% Moderate: 51% Low: 13%	



Richards' Family Parlor, 1891

Victorian House Design and Decoration—Parlor and Dining Room Display

The parlor room, a room in the front of Victorian houses typically used for receiving guests, was often used to convey the “public” face of a family. Parlors were reserved for entertaining guests. The parlor, ideologically, was a material manifestation of a household’s values. In the mid- to late 1870s, in part because of the economic depression, middle class housewives filled their parlor room with homemade “household elegancies” or “ladies’ fancy work” as well as a few purchased objects. Parlors of the 1870s were decorated with pillows, rustic furniture, knotted rugs, hand-painted screens, and laminated bric-a-brac stands (Wright 1980:34). In the early 1880s, when the depression that had affected San Francisco and much of the country was over, hand-made decoration was less emphasized and American machine-made furniture increased dramatically. New kinds of woodwork appeared inside houses, including screens, moldings, panels, chair rails, and plate rails for the display of china. Fashionable wares, such as dinnerware and knick-knacks were displayed on the mantles and walls. The frequency and type of these display items that are recovered from archaeological sites are thought to be indicative of class status and in fact, “items of display” were recovered from each of the three historic-era features for the project.

A single item, a terracotta vessel, which appears

to be barrel or some type of nondescript stand, was the only artifact recovered from the Bruman family privy. There was also a lack of tableware and servingware recovered from this privy. This minimal representation of display-like wares may indicate that the Bruman family had not adopted the practice of public display as demonstration of their middle class values. In contrast, the Driscoll family and Holm family renters’ privies contained greater amounts of decorative and display items. The Driscoll family privy contained numerous terracotta flowerpot fragments and a pink glass vase. The Holm family renters’ privy included a terracotta flowerpot, a green glass vase with gold gilding, and two porcelain figurines that may have been mantle pieces.

The dining room was also considered a public room in the Victorian household. The display of fashionable artifacts, such as dinnerware, was important. “The best dinner service, crystal, and silver were displayed in a dresser, while decorative platters and bric-a-brac ringed the wall on a shoulder high plate rail” (Lynes 1963:176-199). According to Victorian values, serving vessels were typically passed from hand to hand around the table. Plates were never proportioned from the kitchen and formal dinner would include several drinking vessels to be served with different types of wines to match the courses.

Tableware, servingware, and other consumption and dining-related materials from the project appear to follow the predominant styles and reflect adherence to “middle class” or “Victorian” ideals of the time. Among the factors that demonstrate this is the function of vessels that comprise the ceramics that were recovered along with ware types and the variety of glassware that was recovered.

Some archaeologists (Praetzelis and Praetzelis 2004:229) assume that the richer and larger the dining room-related artifacts recovered from an archaeological site are, the more the dining ritual of that associated group approximated the Victorian ideal. Furthermore, class position (i.e., middle class, upper class, etc.) is thought to relate to the amount and type of diningware present. Other archaeologists (Klein 1991) assume that there is no

Features by Vessel Type					
	Vessel Function	Bruman Family (MNI)	Driscoll Family (MNI)	Holm Family Renters (MNI)	Total (MNI)
Drinking Vessels	Tumbler	1	2	3	6
	Mug or Cup	2	14	6	22
	Water Glass		1		1
	Stemware		16	12	28
Serving	Serving Utensil		3	1	4
	Glass Serving		1	1	2
	Bowl (Relish Dish?)		1	1	2
	Small Pot (jelly?)		1		1
	Pitcher		1		1
	Serving Platter		4	3	7
	Flatware		3	1	4
	Tureen			1	1
	Glass Dish			1	1
Tableware	Small Plate	1	6	7	14
	Medium Plate	1	4	2	7
	Large Plate		2	3	5
	Dinner Plate	6	9	7	22
	Soup Plate	2	3		5
	Medium Bowl		1	1	2
	Small Bowl		1		1
	Bowl		1		1
Tea Service	Teacup	1	9	1	11
	Saucer	8	13	5	26
	Teapot		2	1	3
	Creamer		2		2
TOTALS		22	100	56	178

simple correlation between the value of a ceramic assemblage and the social affiliation to which a household belonged. The wares recovered from the project suggest the variation observed between the three privies excavated may be explained, in part, by personal choices. As members of an emerging middle class these families exhibit some variations in behaviors as they attempted to negotiate and adapt to a new social status. Some of the families may have been slower than others to adopt the behaviors attributed to that social stratum.

Victorian Childhood

The variety of toys and writing-related implements used for school indicates a high level of investment in the upbringing of one's children. Emphasis on education, literacy, and the social advancement of children from one generation to next was associated with the rise of the middle class during the Victorian era. A pervasive idea was that children were to be molded into civilized individuals by their parents. They were taught proper etiquette through modeled behavior, which included the provision of toys that provided an opportunity for the child to mimic adult behavior. Toy tea sets modeled the adult tea ceremony. Baby dolls modeled child-rearing practices. All three of the privies excavated contained children's toys, even the Driscoll family privy pit, where no children are documented. The toys recovered included marbles, various dolls and doll parts, gaming pieces such as dominoes, and porcelain tea sets. When it came to investing in their children and instructing them in proper Victorian values, the families from the project appear to be consistent with what would be deemed "middle class."

School became mandatory for children in the 1870s. For recent immigrants to the United States, their children would have an equal opportunity to learn how to speak, read, and write English and thus, be more likely to advance into middle class society. There was a large amount of writing slates and pencils recovered from all three of the privy pits excavated for the project. This suggests that the project families focused on education for their children. There was even a large amount of writing



slate and pencils recovered from the Driscoll family privy pit. This is of interest because there were no children noted at the Driscoll residence during their tenure. It was listed in the 1880 Census that Catherine Driscoll could read, but not write English. Was it possible that her daughter Hannah was attempting to teach her how to write? Or is more likely there were children present at the residence that are unaccounted for?

Comparison of Children's Toys			
	Bruman Family	Driscoll Family	Holm Family Renters
Marble	2	8	1
Wheel		1	1
Doll	2	8	1
Teacup	2	1	1
Teapot		1	2
Saucer			1

Comparison of Writing Materials (MNI)	
Bruman Family	7
Driscoll Family	21
Holm Family Renters	22

Meat Consumption

One way to measure class or status is through consumption patterns, particularly the consumption of meat. Faunal analysis, which is the examination of animal bones from archaeology sites, was undertaken and predicated upon weights of various meat cuts present and the price ranking of those meat cuts. Another archaeology project that took place in San Francisco, the SF-80 Bayshore Project, discovered that different neighborhoods in San Francisco had distinctly different patterns of consumption. For example, it was found that the Rincon Hill neighborhood (typically middle to upper class) of San Francisco consumed higher-priced cuts of meat, whereas the Mission Bay neighborhood (typically working class) consumed lower-priced cuts of meat.

Based on the classification of the Hayes Valley neighborhood of the Western Addition as middle class, it would be expected that the majority of the meat cuts recovered from the three privy pits would be moderately priced, likely falling somewhere between the Rincon Hill neighborhood and the Mission Bay neighborhood. However, the pricing of the meat cuts were actually found to deviate from the expected pattern. The cuts of meat from the Hayes Valley neighborhood were more expensive than that of the Rincon Hill neighborhood. On average, 84.8 percent of all the remains recovered from the project were either moderately or high priced cuts of meat, much higher than any other neighborhood previously examined in San Francisco. If one were to make an assessment of the relative status of the family groups from the current project based solely on



Knott's Meat Market, Anaheim, 1906

their faunal remains, they would likely classify these families as upper class.

While the families from the project, by most accounts, appear to be emerging middle class, their meat choices are indicative of a consumption pattern associated with wealthier families. High-value meat cuts might have assumed particular importance, beyond that of nutritional considerations, to include notions of by reflecting self-pride, identity, association, and perceptions of "living well." It appears that the project families were emulating what they thought were the eating practices of the middle and upper class, not really knowing what they were actually eating.

Meat Weights by Relative Pricing			
Meat Type	Bruman Family	Driscoll Family	Holm Family Renters
Beef			
High			
Porterhouse	9.0	37.8	36.0
Sirloin	10.8	43.2	18.9
Prime Rib	19.6	28.0	9.8
Total High	39.4 (31.8%)	109.0 (46.4%)	64.7 (36.6%)
Moderate			
Round	5.2	5.2	
Rump	2.4	2.4	4.8
Chuck	17.6	17.6	26.4
Rib	52.8	93.6	69.6
Total Moderate	78.0 (62.9%)	118.8 (50.6%)	100.8 (57.0%)
Low			
Hindshank	2.0	1.0	6.0
Foreshank	1.0	5.0	4.0
Neck	3.6	1.2	1.2
Total low	6.6 (5.3%)	7.2 (3.1%)	11.2 (6.4%)
Mutton			
High			
Loin	2.0	28.8	7.2
Sirloin	1.0	9.0	3.5
Leg	16.38	25.83	9.45
Total High	19.38 (30.3%)	63.63 (44.9%)	20.15 (36.3%)
Moderate			
Rib	15.6	25.6	9.2
Shoulder	9.01	7.95	9.01
Total Moderate	24.61 (38.5%)	33.55 (23.7%)	18.21 (32.8%)
Low			
Hindshank		0.6	0.5
Brisket	13.2	34.0	13.6
Foreshank	1.08	1.44	1.08
Neck	5.6	8.4	2.0
Total Low	19.88 (31.1%)	44.44 (31.4%)	17.18 (30.9%)
Pork			
High			
Ham/Leg			.46
Total High			.46 (16.8%)
Low			
Sparerib			1.12
Jowl	.94		.47
Foot	4.08		.68
Total Low	5.02 (100.0%)		2.27 (83.2%)

Forequarter and Hindquarter Meat Weights				
	Portion	Bruman Family	Driscoll Family	Holm Family Renters
Beef				
	Forequarter	73.6%	61.9%	62.8%
	Hindquarter	23.7%	38.1%	37.2%
Mutton				
	Forequarter	69.7%	54.6%	62.8%
	Hindquarter	30.3%	45.5%	37.2%

A Possible Kosher Family?

The obligation to keep a kosher kitchen was at the core of religious duty of observant Jewish women from the earliest years of American settlement. Some American Jews chose to observe kosher dietary laws selectively; others observed them entirely. The American Jewish Historical Society has described the difficulty of obtaining kosher meat in some frontier areas; however, kosher meat was readily available in San Francisco. Kosher law required food avoidance (pork, etc.) and separating milk products from meat products, which required two sets of kitchen tools and dishes.

The Bruman, the Newhoff, and the Gross families all had a known Jewish affiliation, however none of the artifacts recovered from these families suggest the use of two separate sets of dishes. Historical records indicate that the Bruman Family were Reform Jews, meaning they may not have strictly adhered and practiced kosher laws. Yet, the bones left over from the meat that the Bruman family consumed may indicate that they were eating kosher cuts of meat. Among the tenets of Jewish dietary law is the prohibition concerning consumption of mammals such as rabbits and pigs, and requirement for the removal of the sciatic nerve from the hindquarters of sheep and cattle before they can be consumed. Shunning the difficult procedure of removing the sciatic nerve, kosher butchers often opted to sell the hindquarters of beef to non-kosher shops. When the fore- and hindquarter representations of beef and mutton from all three privy pits is taken into account, the Bruman family privy pit displays significantly lower ratios of meat from the hindquarters of beef

than the Driscoll family and Holm family renters. The faunal assemblage from the Bruman family privy pit may have been influenced by the Bruman's religious practices. Many Jews were fleeing persecution in Europe and in coming to America, attempted to assimilate. With that said, many families, such as the Bruman family, perhaps practiced the spirit, if not exact letter of kosher law. Some rejected kosher law altogether.

Expressions of Gender — Women's Work

Nineteenth century San Franciscans did not define themselves solely in economic terms, but also in gender specific terms. The separation of the home and work that was a hallmark of the American urban middle class of the 19th century had profound implications for family life, involving a strict division of labor between men and women. While men left home for work, and older children left home for school, middle class women were, according to the new ideology of family life, to remain at home during the day taking care of the house and pre-school-aged children.

The home was increasingly defined as the “woman’s sphere.” In the typical Victorian house, the kitchen was a functional but relatively simple area in the rear of the house, separated from the highly decorated parlor and dining room at the front. Middle class kitchens were actually planned as spaces for servants. However, only about 18 percent of San Francisco city merchants in 1880 could afford a live-in servant. In fact, housework in the 19th century was so time consuming that women and girls spent much of their daily life consumed with it, even in middle class households that had servants. Meals had to be cooked each day, the house cleaned, and clothes washed. The Victorian ideals of the time elevated housework to a moral, almost religious, duty for the middle class housewife.

Besides working at home, women supplemented their income by working outside the home or taking in work. As a worker in the clothing trades, Hannah Driscoll was engaged in the second most common



Clothing Maintenance-Related Items from Feature 13

occupation for Irish-born women in 19th century San Francisco. Approximately 12 percent of Irish women in San Francisco were clothing workers. Tools associated with this type of work include sewing and clothing repair related items. A large number of sewing-related items were found in each of the three privy pits excavated, suggesting that even if the women of the project were not taking in sewing as paid work, they were often involved

Sewing, Clothing and Clothing Maintenance-Related Artifacts											
	Button	Safety Pin	Straight Pin	Thimble	Buckle	Footwear	Bluing Ball	Clothes Pin	Cloth/Textile	Suspender	MINI TOTAL
Bruman Family	20	1	2		1	4	1				33
Driscoll Family	63	1	4	1		10	1	1	4	1	77
Holm Family Renters	122	2	6	1	1	19	3	1	4	2	158

Female-Related Artifacts				
Description	Bruman Family	Driscoll Family	Holm Family Renters	MNI Total
Hand-held mirror	1	2	1	3
Hair Comb	1	1		2
Hair Band		1	3	4
Hair Pin		2		2
Brooch		1	1	2
Pendant		1	1	2
Perfume Bottle		1	1	2
Brush		1		1
Heel to Woman's Shoe			1	1
Total	2	12	7	19

in repairing and making clothing for their own households. In the Bruman family privy pit 13.6 percent of all of the items recovered were associated with clothing and clothing maintenance, including items such as buttons of various shapes and sizes, as well as fragments of cloth, straight pins, and safety pins. Over 14 percent of the items recovered from the Driscoll family privy pit were clothing and clothing related items. The Holm family renter's privy pit has the highest overall percentage of clothing and clothing-related items, with 24 percent of the entire assemblage related to clothing. Although it is undocumented, it could be suggested that the women living in the Bruman family and Holm family renters residence may have taken in repairs for extra income.

The Driscoll family was the only woman-headed household privy pit discovered. It was expected that because of this difference, there would be deviations in the artifacts encountered in the Driscoll privy pit. Overall, the artifacts recovered were the most robust and diverse of the three privy pits excavated, which may be a result of the Driscoll family's long tenure in the neighborhood, meaning they had a longer opportunity to deposit things in their privy. The Driscoll family privy pit also had the most distinctive "female" presence. Artifacts such as a gutta-percha pendant and brooch speak to popular styles of adornment for women of the late 19th century. Gutta-

percha was a type of rubber that was popular in the production of many materials before the invention of plastic. The Driscoll women appeared to have groomed themselves with combs and a hand-held mirror and, likely, wore their hair in popular fashions using plastic hair combs. A fancy porcelain soap dish and several glass perfume bottles recovered from the privy pit also aided the Driscoll women in maintaining their appearances.

In contrast, this distinctively "female presence" was not noted for the Bruman family privy pit. It may have been that Mrs. Bruman is better represented by artifacts that focused more of her involvement in child rearing and/or maintaining the household.

Afternoon Tea

Afternoon tea was a female social event indulged in by middle class and wealthy women. Afternoon tea parties were held in the parlor, the most luxuriously decorated room in the middle class home. Tea was particularly important for middle class women because they were often isolated from each other in their private homes (Williams 1987:9-11). Afternoon tea in the parlor with non-family guests was an occasion where the display of family social status became important, but was also a time to socialize with others besides one's family (Wall 199:79). Teaware in the Victorian household was often plain ironstone or fancier porcelains. Having more than one set of teawares may indicate that the family participated in two different kinds of tea consumption.

The artifacts related to tea drinking from the Holm family Renter's privy pit provide strong evidence of participation in the afternoon tea. Several porcelain teacups and saucers, as well as fragments from what appeared to be two separate Rockingham or Bennington teapots, were among the ceramic subassemblage. Some of the porcelain teacups from the Driscoll family privy pit appear to be hand-painted, or had embellishments such as gilding around the rim of the cup. There appears to be more than one set of teawares associated with the Driscoll family's artifacts, suggesting that the Driscoll women participated in a "public" afternoon tea, as well as a

“private” tea probably taking place in the morning during breakfast.

As previously mentioned, the Victorian period emphasized social appearances, much as they are today: the way one dressed, the appearance of one’s parlor room, and how one entertained guests was an important part of middle class identity. Although the Driscoll women may have had to work or supplement their income by bringing in work, it is undeniable that they also valued their appearance, and put on a public face of (femininity and) elegance when entertaining callers during occasions such as the afternoon tea.

Teaware				
Description	Bruman Family	Driscoll Family	Holm Family Renters	MNI Total
Porcelain Teacup	1	12	4	17
Porcelain Saucer	1	2		3
WIE Mug or Cup	2	9	3	14
WIE Saucer	7	11	5	23
Stoneware Teapot		2		2
Earthenware Teapot (Rockingham or Bennington)			1	1
WIE Creamer		2		2
Total	11	38	13	62

Pulling Yourself Up by Your Bootstraps—The Emerging Middle Class

Although by occupation, the families identified in association with the privy pits could be defined as ranging from skilled blue-collar to professional, their residency in Hayes Valley, home ownership (in the case of the Bruman and Driscoll families) and/or pooling of incomes, places them among the emerging middle class. In some instances, the family profiles developed from the assemblages would be interpreted as working class when compared to other recent archaeological studies in the Bay Area. By contrast, specific artifact subgroups, such as meat cuts, can be interpreted as reflecting a

wealthy, upper class consumer pattern. The diversity of ceramic tableware and servingware, furnishings, toys, foodways, and writing implements shows some variability, differences that are thought to reflect personal choice and need. When analyzing these materials in light of the historical data that was available on the families, it appears that the families reflect or are defined by mechanisms related to their neighborhood home values. These mechanisms may include such things as local supply, shared values, and similar economic wherewithal.

The Hayes Valley neighborhood in the late 19th century appears to have been a launching pad, or starting point, for foreign-born and/or working class families that were attempting to “emerge” into the middle class. Artifacts encountered in the privies provided a glimpse into ways that these families were negotiating their class and status. Historical records indicate that for the most part the families were successful in “emerging” into the middle class. The Bruman’s son, Arthur, became a prominent physician with an office in the Pacific Heights neighborhood of San Francisco. The Bruman’s daughter, Hattie, married Louis Weill of Napa and the wedding was reported on the society pages of a prominent San Francisco newspaper. Louis Gross moved out of Hayes Valley and began working as a bookkeeper for Haraszthy and Company, one of the first wineries and wine distributors in California. Rosa Newhoff’s son, Emanuel Weinburgh, eventually became one of the most prominent merchants in San Diego, California.

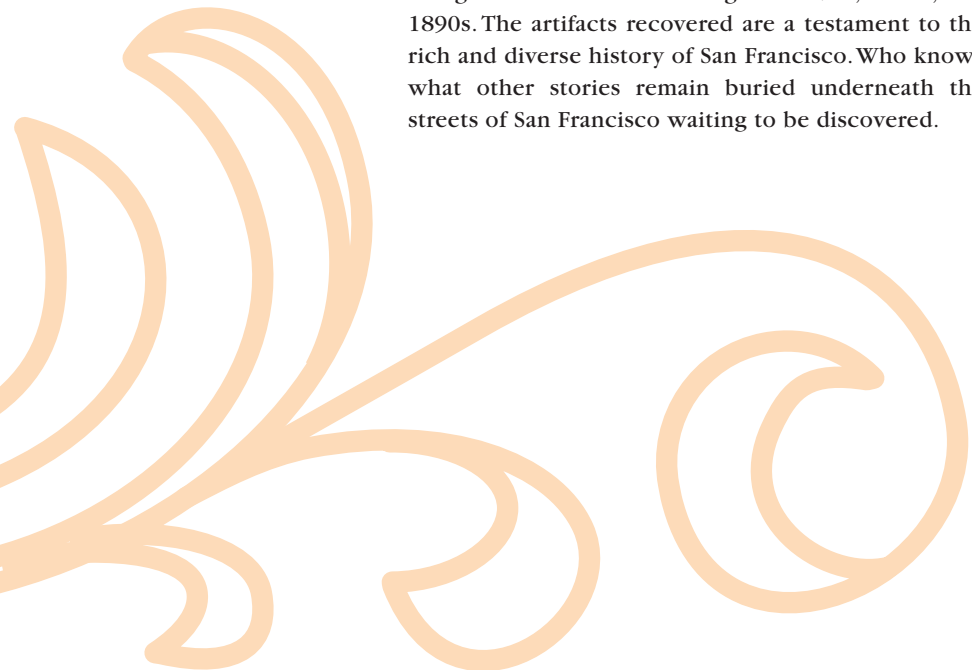
The material remains recovered from the Central Freeway Replacement Project help to elucidate ways in which people in the past defined themselves. The dynamic interplay of historical and archaeological evidence allowed for a full picture of what they signature of an emerging middle class assemblage might look like.



(Pictured Left to Right)
Harriet Derrick Newhoff, W.
Anthony Newhoff, William
Marion Newhoff, Allen
Derrick Newhoff; circa
1943, Ross, California

What Did We Learn?

In the end, it is apparent that there was a lot of information buried underneath the pavement of the Central Freeway. This data provided a fuller understanding of what life may have been like in San Francisco for its first settlers, as well as for later immigrants who were trying to stake a claim in middle class American society. Archaeology is unique because it helps to tell stories that may have otherwise never been told. Archaeology allows us to extend our knowledge of human history beyond the limits of written records. Historical documents tell only so much about what people did and how they interacted with each other. Archaeology can tell us about a time that happened before written records, as well as it can supplementing and clarifying the knowledge gleaned from traditional histories. The archaeology of the Central Freeway Replacement Project has shown that history did not begin in San Francisco with the arrival of the Spanish and the missionaries, there was a complex population of peoples that lived in the area many thousands of years before. This work also allowed a personal and intimate glimpse into the lives of everyday peoples living in San Francisco during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s. The artifacts recovered are a testament to the rich and diverse history of San Francisco. Who knows what other stories remain buried underneath the streets of San Francisco waiting to be discovered.



► This white improved earthenware plate was probably part of an everyday set of dishes used by the Bruman family (Feature 10). This plate was produced by James Edwards and Sons in Staffordshire, England (1851-1882). White improved earthenware was commonly available at local stores throughout the 19th century. This simple and basic everyday ceramic was likely used during the Bruman's family meals.



▲ A collection of child-related artifacts was recovered from the Bruman family privy and includes a porcelain cup from a toy tea set, marbles, fragments of a porcelain penny doll, and the top of an Alexandra feeding bottle. Toys from the late 19th century often imitated adult behaviors, such as tea sets that modeled the adult tea ceremony and dolls that modeled child-rearing practices. Toys such as the ones shown here were relatively inexpensive and could often be purchased at local markets for a penny.



◀ A Rockingham or Bennington teapot and lid were recovered from the Holm family renters' privy (Feature 14). Rockingham ceramic wares were first produced in England, but were later imitated by potteries in the United States. This imitation was known as Bennington type. The ceramic was popular in the 19th century, particularly for teapots.



▼ This amber-colored, glass flask was recovered from the Driscoll family privy (Feature 13). The flask is commemorative, depicting a well-known "Union" design. The design was inspired by the Civil War and



features a shield with two hands clasped in "union" or friendship. The reverse side of the flask features a cannon with cannon balls stacked beside it. The Union pictorial flask was popular throughout the 1860s, well into the 1880s as a collector's item.



◀ The function of this decorative item recovered from the Holm family renters' privy is unknown (Feature 14). This item is possibly some sort of bric-a-brac that was displayed in one of the renter's homes. A man and woman holding hands and/or dancing is depicted on this flat piece of colorless glass. Decorative items such as this were typically displayed in the parlor area of the home, and were used to convey the "public face" of the middle class domestic family to their visitors and guests.



▲ An assortment of patent and prescription medicine bottles was recovered from the Bruman family privy (Feature 10). Self medication became a profitable business during the late 19th century, playing on the public's fear of germs and sanitation. Tuberculosis, also known as "consumption" was found to be contagious in the late 19th century and flourished in the dense living quarters of cities like San Francisco. Patent medicine, thought to treat the symptoms of consumption as well as other ailments, was relatively affordable and easy to obtain. Prescription medicines, on the other hand, were more expensive and were typically purchased by the middle and upper class.

▼ It is unclear what this decorative bone item recovered from the Driscoll family privy was used for (Feature 13).





▲ A kaolin tobacco penny pipe was recovered from the Driscoll family privy (Feature 13). This type of pipe was most often produced in Glasgow, Scotland. Kaolin pipes were inexpensive and typically disposed of after several uses or when the pipe stem broke. Pipes, including pipe stems, can be valuable to archaeologists, because the diameter of the pipe stem hole, style of the pipe bowl, and presence of makers marks may indicate the date the pipe was manufactured and thus date the deposit that it came from.



◀ A silver plated match safe was recovered from the Holm family renters' privy (Feature 14). The match safe was found to contain several wooden matches and was engraved with three indiscernible letters, possibly the initials of its owner.



◀ An assortment of alcohol-related items was recovered from the Holm family renters' (Feature 14) privy and included green-glass wine bottles, an amber colored flask, various liquor bottle necks, and several shot glasses. These artifacts indicate that alcohol was consumed in the home of one or more of the Holm family renters.



▼ A bone toothbrush was recovered from the Holm family renters' privy (Feature 14). Before the invention of plastic or rubber, toothbrushes were made from bone and wood and their bristles were affixed by hand.



▲ These female-related accoutrements were recovered from the Driscoll family privy (Feature 13) and included artifacts made from gutta percha, an early type of latex based materials that was a forerunner to plastic and popular in the 19th century. A hand-held mirror, bracelet, hair comb, pendant, and brooch were recovered from the privy. A decorative soap or powder dish was also recovered. Perhaps these items belonged to Catherine Driscoll and/or Hannah Driscoll, both who served as head of the Driscoll household for a period of time.



◀ A colorless glass medicine bottle was recovered from the Driscoll family privy (Feature 13). The bottle is embossed with the words, "JAS J. McDonnell, San Francisco/ Apothecary/Medical Hall." This local pharmacy was located seven blocks from the Driscoll family residence on Market and Sixth Streets and was in operation from 1876 though 1894.

▼ This aquamarine, glass cross was recovered from the Holm family renters' privy (Feature 14). This artifact is of interest, because it could have belonged to one of several of the renters. The Newhoff family's youngest son (one of the renters), William, married an Irish Catholic woman in 1891. He was baptized as a Catholic in St. Mary's Cathedral just days before his wedding. William's mother, Rosa Newhoff, was Jewish and the religion of his father, John Frederick Newhoff is unknown. Perhaps the cross is associated with William's baptism and subsequent marriage.



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